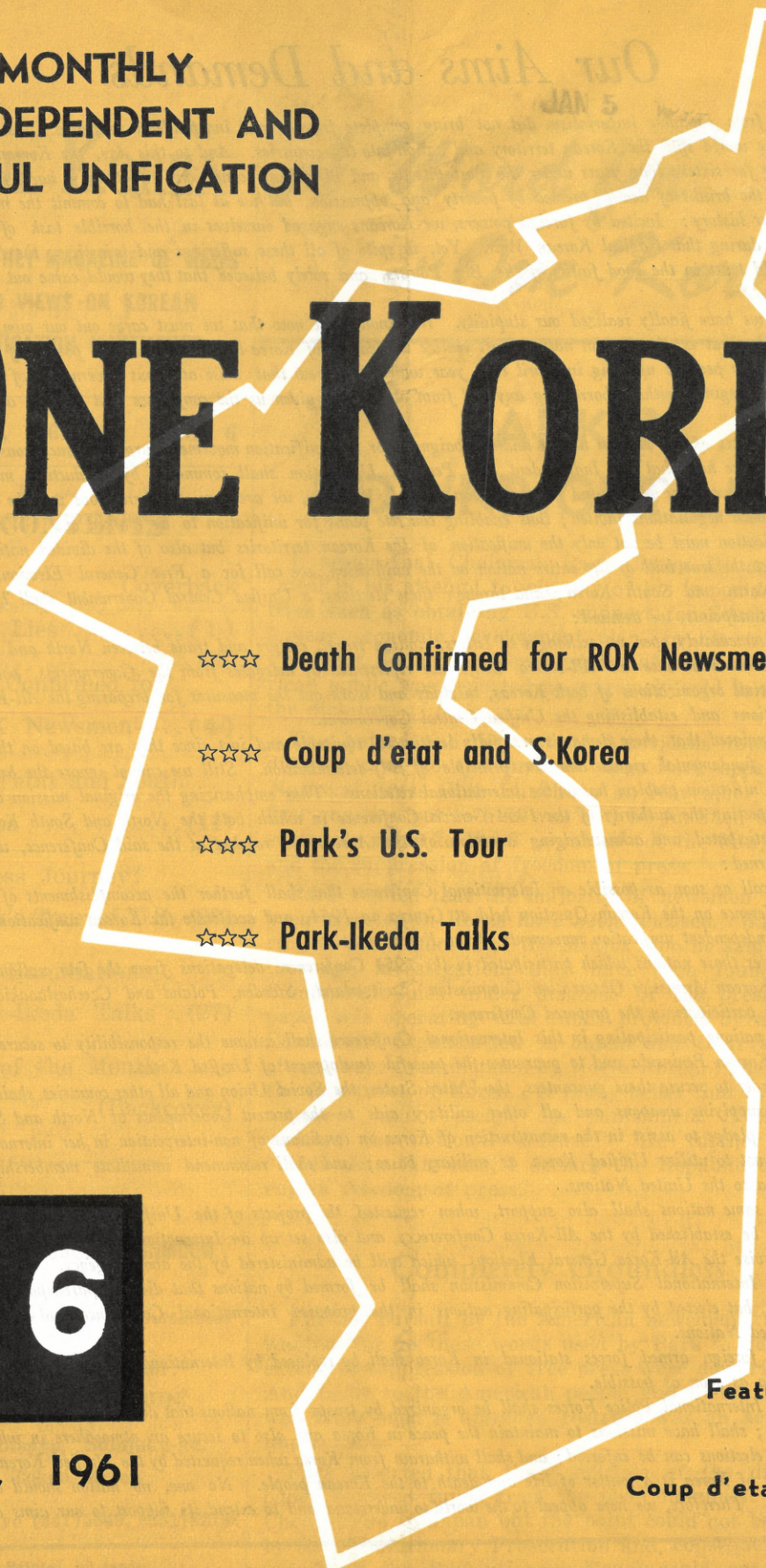
A MONTHLY
FOR INDEPENDENT AND
PEACEFUL UNIFICATION

100 YEN

ONE KOREA



☆☆☆ Death Confirmed for ROK Newsmen

☆☆☆ Coup d'etat and S.Korea

☆☆☆ Park's U.S. Tour

☆☆☆ Park-Ikeda Talks

NO. 6

DEC. 1, 1961

Featuring:

Coup d'etat and S.Korea

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON KOREAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS

Dec. 1, 1961 Vol. 6

CONTENTS

Aims ..... Coverback

Park's Lies .....(1)

Death Confirmed for ROK Newsmen ...(4)

Coup d'etat and South Korea .....(11)

Fruitless Journey: Park's Tour of U.S. (23)

Bitter Humiliation: Park-Ikeda Talks .(27)

News of the Month ..... (Backcover)

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A Word for "One Korea"

PARK'S DOWNRIGHT LIES

It seems that Chairman Park Chung Hi apparently failed in his attempt to win any of his important objectives such as obtaining U.S. support for South Korea's 5 year economic development plan, in his talks with President Kennedy. Moreover, the attitude of the American public was reported as extremely cold in receiving the dictator.

The hatred and distrust of Americans towards the dictator came to the surface when Park spoke at the National Press Club Luncheon on November 16. The first question put to him was how he justified the death sentences given to the 3 newsmen (of the Minjok Ilbo) and the suppression of freedom of press.

Park replied that the majority of newsmen who had been arrested in Korea have been released. But, referring to the 3 officials of the Minjok Ilbo he said: "After thorough investigation, they have been found to be Communist spies under disguise of the press. This paper was operating with funds provided by a Korean Communist organization in Japan and their activities always have been dictated by North Korea. They abused the free press of Korea. It is my belief that even press members cannot escape due punishment if they had violated the national defense." He further added: "other than this case, I declare the Republic of Korea enjoys freedom of press."

Completely Groundless

Further pursuit by the American newsmen was really wanted, for all these words used by Park to defend his extensive suppression of free press were downright lies. And to lie to the American people and to the world as well from such a dignified rostrum was an act highly impeachable.

Park asserted that the 3 officials of the disbanded paper received funds from the pro-Communist Choseon Chong-Ryun in Japan but the point could not be proved by the Revolutionary Prosecution and, consequently, the judges of the Revolutionary Court could not state a

word about the funds in its verdicts inspite of the desparate efforts put forth. This was most proper and according because there existed no such dealings. All the Court could do was to state that the officials of the Minjok Ilbo had contacted Yee Young Keun, a North Korean agent. (Please refer to One Korea Vol. 4, page 27) But the allegation that Yee was a North Korean agent itself was not proven either. The Court merely took the "Yee Young Keun Spy Story" as granted. Yee Young Keun is no North Korean agent. He has had no connection whatsoever with Communists. The Yee Spy story was originally fabricated by Syngman Rhee way back in 1951. In order to discredit the late Cho Bong-Am (Vice-Speaker of the National Assembly at the time and 2 time Progressive Presidential candidate) and to prevent him from running in the Presidential elections, Rhee ordered one of his army intelligence chiefs, a Kim Chang-Yong to frame a Communist spy story on Yee Young Keun, who was then serving as Cho's secretary.

Although indicted and put on trial, all the defendants of the "Yee Young Keun Case" were acquitted as innocent on May 26, 1952. Since the Korean War was going on and the slightest evidence of being a Communist or a fellow traveller meant sure death sentence, to be freed under such circumstances was more than enough proof that the Yee Spy Story was a pure fabrication.

Furthermore, the Prosecution could not produce any evidence to connect Yee with the Choseon Chong-Ryun, and it merely charged that "Yee infiltrated the ranks of the Mindan (pro-ROK Korean Residents Union in Japan) and operated under the guise of a progressive." So, naturally, the Court could not say a word in regards to the point. This was duly so, for Yee Young Keun has had no connection with the pro-Communist organization in Japan. On the contrary, the Choseon Chong-Ryun has constantly obstructed Yee's works for Korean unification.

Abuse and Profanity

In this way, the attempts of the Revolutionary Court to connect the Minjok Ilbo with the pro-Communist Choseon Chong-Ryun and also to brand Yee Young Keun a North Korean agent ended in complete faillure. Still, Park Chung Hi, so shamefacedly, declared in front of the American public that the 3 officials of Minjok Ilbo received funds from the Korean Communist organization in Japan! On top of the unforgiveable lies in front of the world, he has mocked the authority of his own Revolutionary Court. No one is allowed to denounce another of a particular crime in public unless he is convicted. Park may have presumed that none of the 200 newsmen present at the Press Club would be well versed on the Case and went on to utter his lies, but what he has said in relation to the 3 ROK journalist constitutes clear libel. It must be said that Park not only made abuse of the cordiality but profaned the dignity of the National Press Club by uttering such slanderous remarks there.

There is another highly significant fact that indicates how completely groundless Park's North Korean Communist fund allegation is. According to the Court's decision, the alleged funds were carried by a Cho So-Su to publisher Cho Yong-Su of the Minjok Ilbo from Yee Young Keun. If Cho So-Su had really carried the funds to the paper, he would have been a key witness for the Prosecution although he would have had to be tried as a co-defendant. The man, in fact, was arrested, questioned and detained by the Prosecution until the Defense served a sub-poena on Cho to testify in Court. But on August 3, a day before he was to appear in Court, the man was made to escape to Japan with a passport issued by the ROK Foreign Ministry. The prosecution apparently forced the man to flee and the Court persisted that the man was unlocatable. Cho So-Su

is presently in Tokyo. It is quite clear now that the man was deliberately made to flee from fear that once the Defense got hold of the man, he would have provided damaging testimony against the Prosecution. This trickery symbolizes the unfair, fraudulent and distorted character of the Revolutionary trials.

The capital punishments passed down on the 3 journalists, therefore, were not because the defendants were found guilty of being pro-Communists or had contacted North Korean spies and operated with funds provided by a Communist organization. They were punished only for the sake of endorsing peaceful unification of Korea which is the true aspiration of the entire nation. Choi Paik-Keun, the agenda chief of the defunct Socialist Party too was not sentenced to death because of his alleged pro-Communism but because he worked for peaceful unification. Scores of others who fought to reunify Korea peacefully have been given severe penalties by the Revolutionary Court on exactly the same count: "The policy lines they had advocated were similar to those of the North Korean Communist regime."

Total Flunk As Statesman

Park Chung Hi, staggering at the blunt pursuance of the U.S. newsmen, put forth such groundless reasons as this North Korean fund story in the most shameful attempt to justify his brutal assaults being committed on free press. But his false assertions did not end up in mere lies. Foreign wires commented that Park's statement at the National Press Club virtually ruled out any clemency for the condemned newsmen. While telling lies to the world, he pronounced death sentences to the hapless journalists. No respectable ruler would ever lose composure and make such a fatal pronouncement on the occassion no matter how embarrassing the query may have been. Thus Park Chung Hi proved himself a total flunk as a stateman in the eyes of the world. And the world must by now fully realized how untolerable it is for Koreans who must put up with such an incompetent, ignorant and boorish ruler.

Park, moreover, dared to say that freedom of press is being enjoyed in South Korea other than the case of pro-Communists. This is another big lie. Just recently, a reporter of the Donga Ilbo (Seoul daily) was arrested for reporting what he got from an interview. Ambassador Juan M. Arreglado, Philippine delegate to the UNCURK (United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea) told the reporter that "politicians and army officers under house arrest may be released during November and that clemency was expected for the officials of the Minjok Ilbo." The reporter wrote only the facts but was given 6 months in jail on charge of "circulating rumors." Reporters of Kyunghyang Shinmoon, Taihan Ilbo, Chunnam Ilbo and many others were also sent to prisons for publishing articles which had passed the official censorship. Even laymen are being sent to prisons for "circulating false rumors".

In his address to the Press Club, Park went so far as to say that the military government was "guiding the presses." The remark it was reported, apparently touched off the repulsion of the American newsmen to put the stinging question to Park. But it is our sincere wish that the pursuance shall not end there. Park Chung Hi ill-used the rostrum of the Press Club not only to insult the presses but also abused it to finalize the death sentences on the ROK journalists. It was highly regrettable that President Kennedy had invited such a lowly and cruel dictator to the White House but it is our sure belief that Americans with so glorious a tradition of free press will censure their government and also work to save the unjustly condemned ROK jounalists.

APPELLATE COURT CONFIRMS DEATH SENTENCES ON ROK NEWSMEN

The ROK military bosses have ignored world opinion and are finalizing the death sentences of 3 ROK journalists. Meanwhile, illicit profiteers and corrupt politicians are being pardoned en masse. Under the militarists, patriots are to be hanged and rascals are to be freed. Such hypocrisy in front of the world and outrage against humanity must not be permitted.

I. MOST UNFAIR TRIAL IN HISTORY

Death Sentences Upheld. The Revolutionary Court of Appeals upheld the death sentences given to three officials of the defunct Seoul progressive daily, the Minjok Ilbo, on October 31. The three newsmen are publisher Cho Yong-Su, auditor An Shin-Kyu, and advisor Song Ji-Yung. Their executions are subject to the approval of Chairman Park Chung-Hi of the Supreme Council. On top of rejecting the appeals from the defendants, the appellate court of four military officers and three civilians sentenced ex-managing-editor of the paper, Lee Chong-Yul, who had been acquitted by the lower court, to 10 years in prison.

Voices of protest and censure have been raised throughout the world against the unfairness of the trial and cruelty of the verdicts which were handed down last August 28. Many had looked forward to the appellate court to show some leniency. But it was but preaching to deaf ears to expect any discretion from the blood-thirsty militarists. Inhumane as they are, the militarists will most probably send the 3 journalists to the gallows in defiance of world opinion.

It must be stressed again that these newsmen are going to be hanged merely for the sake of endorsing peaceful unification of Korea. And it must be underlined that peaceful unification is the very initial mission of the United Nations' policy in Korea. Now can such outrage against humanity and the United Nations which is the sole hope to assure the future of mankind be permitted? Since the matter requests the maximum censure, we will here review the unfairness of the trial on the Minjok Ilbo Case once more and give a final effort to save the lives of these innocent patriots from the bloody hands of the militarists.

Lack of Evidences. As we described in our One Korea vol. 4, the Revolutionary Prosecution, at first, tried to pin the officials of the Minjok Ilbo pro-Communists and charged that the paper had received funds from a pro-North Korean organization in Japan, the Choseon Chong-Ryun They also cooked up Red spy stories. But evidences disproved all such mean allegations. So, all the Prosecution could do was to present a ridiculously forced argument: They concluded that the defendants were

pro-Communists because the Minjok Ilbo wrote such lines as "the only road to reconstruct the Republic of Korea is through peaceful unification" and used such terms as "the masses" and "contradiction of capitalism."

The truth is that all the condemned and the convicted as well are no pro-Communists but have fought against the Communists in their past. Cho Yong-Su, the condemned publisher, who served as vice-president of the Mindan (ROK Residents' Union in Japan) Tochigi Prefectural Chapter and had fought the pro-Communist elements in Japan until returning to his homeland, testified in court that he had thrown himself in the ranks of the anti-Communist Koreans in Japan and had fought the Reds for 5 years of residence in Japan. An Shin-Kyu, the auditor to die, is an established anti-Communist who had fled from North Korea carrying his aged mother on his back. Song Ji-Yung, the condemned advisor and former chairman of the Korean Pen Club, told the court that he had "fought against Communism with his pen." Even Communists would never be executed in a free society on such meager counts. Now can these newsmen who had no affiliation with Communism be sent to the gallows on such false charges?

Foul Play. As to the alleged fund provided by the Choseon Chong-Ryun (General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan), no evidence could be produced and the charge had to be dropped. What was most outrageous was that the Revolutionary Court had deliberately made the alleged fund carrier, Cho So-Su, escape to Japan on the day before the Defense was to call the man as witness. (Refer: Hankuk Ilbo, Aug. 4) This was a dirty trick, for the man, it was said, would have given damaging testimony against the Prosecution. The North Korean spy story involving Yee Young-Keun, which was originally fabricated by Syngman Rhee way back in 1951, receded far into the background when the time came for the Prosecution to present its indictments due to total lack of supporting evidence.

his office and had put the defendants un-

Quack Judges. In such manner, not one point of the Prosecution's indictments would have convinced any judge with a fair mind. But, as the judges were mere pupets of the military bosses, the newsmen were given maximum penalties. The military judges reminded one of those quack judges who serve their bosses in American Western movies. Once caught and put on trial, that's the end of it. There were no need of due support of evidences for the military judges. They did not give a damn about the grand principles of penal procedures. The empty-headed judges, as a matter of fact, do not know that such principles exist.

The principles of democratic penal procedures (1) require that the indictment must be based only on evidences and prohibit any indictment based only on confession; (2) do not punish any offense committed before the enforcement of the law and (3) reject any magnified or analogical construction of law. The first principle is aimed to prevent torture and to assure a fair trial. The second principle is to permeate punishment by the law and the third principle is set to check the judges from handing down arbitrary verdicts and thus protect the fundamental rights of the citizen.

Brutal Tortures. In the Minjok Ilbo Case and many others, the Revolutionary Court and Presecution have ignored every single one of these principles. A Korean reporter who recently visited Japan revealed that An Shin-Kyu was put through so much torture that when he appeared in Court, his hair had turned so gray that he looked as if Jean Valgean himself had returned from his grave. Inspite of such cruel tortures, the Prosecution could not get what they wanted from the defendants. And the Prosecution's witnesses too could not furnish any testimony to convict the defendants. Ex-Home Minister Cho Jai-Chun of the Chang Myun Cabinet, for instance, testified in favor of the defense. The minister told the Court that although

he had directed investigation of the Minjok Ilbo Case during his office and had put the defendants under constant surveillance, he could not get any evidences to bring an indictment against the paper whereby the case had to be dropped. (Refer: 5th Session of the Minjok Ilbo Trial)

Application of the Mad Law. The Revolutionary Court applied the Retroactive Special Law to Punish Specific Offenses to do away with the newsmen.

This law, in the first place, is no law conceivable in the present democratic world. Still, the militarists dared to self-enact such cruel law and force it on the nation. To punish offenses committed before the enactment of the law, retroactively, with the same law, is the most brutal atrocity committable on the fundamental rights of mankind. And this is exactly what the militarists have done. If such terrorism is to be left at large, there will no longer be any law in South Korea, for what is legal today might well be punished as illegal tomorrow. The militarists are mad.

Nevertheless, the 6th article of this insane law was applied to the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo in the wildest fashion. The law stipulates that only leaders of political parties and social organizations are to be punished. (Those leaders of political parties or social organs who committed insurrectionary activities including praise, encouragement and collaboration with those activities, with a knowledge that those activities would benefit those anti-state groups, will be meted out with severe punishments of more than ten years up to death) It is clear as the blue sky that the Minjok Ilbo is no social organization but a registered commercial organization. But the military judges have even defied the limits set by their self-enacted law: The wild judges ruled: "although the Minjok Ilbo is not a social organization in the narrow sense of the term, it is a social organization in the broad sense, since its functions are those of a social organ." (See Decision on the Minjok Ilbo Case, One Korea, vol. 4) When magnified constructions of the law are permitted so arbitrarily, fundamental rights of the people will be but fallen leaves left at the mercy of tyrannical winds.

So, the Revolutionary Court ignored all the basic principles of criminal procedures and have condemned the leaders of the Minjok Ilbo to die at the gallows on so outrageous charges. The judges ruled that the policies of unification and North-South exchange endorsed by the paper were similar to those lines propagated by the North Korean Communist regime whereby they had offended the Retroactive Law and thus punishable with death.

Hanging of Patriots. But, unification coincides perfectly with the interests of the nation. It is the supreme command of the nation. And at the time when the journalists advocated unification, the entire nation, including conservative politicians and presses, endorsed unification and seriously sought means and methods for its realization. Why should these patriotic journalists be hanged for what the entire nation believed right and still believes right?

Defiance of World Opinion. The shocking verdicts passed on the newsmen brought about immediate protests from all sectors of the world. Calls for clemency kept mounting and the world had focused its attention on the Revolutionary Court of Appeals. Many had predicted that however cocky they may be, the militarists could hardly go on defying world opinion. Still, they dared to ignore the voices of the world: They have reconfirmed their stand to annihilate the unification forces. Their determination to put a Red scare on the nation through the victimization of the unification forces seems unflinching.

Evil as they are, the militarists have been revealing their shamefacedness at the same time. The military junta has reduced the fines on the illicit profiteers whom it had denounced at first as the real rascals that plunged South Korea into its present predicament. And just recently, the junta dropped its charges against ex-Premier Chang Myun and his associates whose in-

Death Sentence on Socialist Upheld

The seven-man panel of judges rejected all the appeals from the six ex-Socialists and also confirmed the sentences given to the 5 remaining officials of the defunct progressive party (5 to 15 years) by the lower court.

The presiding judge stated in the verdict that the Socialists violated the Post Facto Law by sympathizing with the North Korean Communist regime.

On Nov. 8, the Revolutionary Court of Appeals upheld the death sentence given to Choi Paik-Keun, agenda chief of the defunct Socialist Party. Choi became the first politician whose death sentence was confirmed by the appellate court.

11 Self-Unification Leaders Given Prison Terms

On November, 17, the Revolutionary Court gave 11 leaders of the disbanded National Council for Self-Unification prison terms ranging from 5 to 15 years. They were found guilty of advocating political lines similar to those of the North Korean Red regime.

Lee Chong-Shin, central executive committee member, and Ki Se-Choong, organizer, were each sentenced to 15 years in prison. Park Jin, chairman and Mun Han-Yung, organization chief were passed down ten year terms. All four of these defendants were demanded death penalties by the Prosecution.

Seven other co-defendants were given 5 to 7 years on the same charge of "anti-state activities."

The Council was organized last February comprising more than 40 political parties and social organizations with the aim to attain unification peacefully and independently.

competency it had blamed as the reason for the military takeover. Many seemingly interpretations have been given for these measures of leniency, but the most probable one is that the measures were the results of U.S. pressure. (The pardoning of Chang Myun was announced on Nov. 10, immediately after U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk's visit to Seoul) Now if the U.S. leaders can show so much influence, it could have been understood if they had spoken a word for the condemned newsmen. In the case of the jounalists, it is not merely a matter of getting indicted or fines deducted. Life is at stake. Perhaps, to be rid of the progressive forces may be more convenient to execute U.S. policy in Korea. But, does not democracy assure freedom of political beliefs? Moreover, it is freedom of press that is being suppressed. Koreans will not recognize the Americans as true guardians of freedom as long as such hypocritical attitude is to be assumed by their government.

Distorted Arguments Again. The Revolutionary Court of Appeals rejected the appeals from the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo on grounds that there were no reason for the Court to review the case. The Defense were not even permitted to present its arguments. According to the Law for Establishing the Revolutionary Court and Prosecution, those sentenced to death or life imprisonment may appeal to the appellate court unconditionally. On top of rejecting so mercilessly such a controversial case, the appellate court even went as far as to give ten years to a defendant who had been acquitted by the lower court!

In passing the verdict, the presiding judge of the Court of Appeals admitted

that "the Minjok Ilbo was not a social organization" but "as publisher Cho Yong-Su was a member of the Socialist Popular Party and as the other defendants co-conspired with Cho," he ruled that "the defendants are found guilty of violating the 6th article of the Retroactive Law." In contrast to the wierd construction of law done by the lower court, the appellate court now pushed through its distorted argument that the Minjok Ilbo was a social organization because publisher Cho had been a official of the defunct progressive party.

The Minjok Ilbo is a legal personality assured of its rights and responsibilities. It is not held liable to the activities of natural persons or other legal personalities. To treat the paper as a social organ on grounds that publisher Cho had been an official of a political party is the wildest logic unheard of in any trial.

Ignorance of Law Again. The Court of Appeals ruled that the Minjok Ilbo was not a legal personality defined in the Commercial Law because the paper had not offered its stocks to the public. Such is another wild argument provided the military judges are totally ignorant that such is the practice is modern democratic societies. No newspaper offers its stocks to the public today. Their shares are barred from public offerings in order to prevent monopolization of free press by financial powers. The point is stipulated in the Commercial Law of South Korea. The military judges may think they can ignore, distort, reconstruct or run over any existing law in the name of "Revolutionary Court", but their haphazardness will mean total destruction of the rule by law. They are not judges but drunken puppets pulled by the military bosses. A fellow countryman has described the situation precisely: "This is the reign of terror." To be accused as an advocator of peaceful unification in the past means to be sent to the guillotine.

II. PROTEST MOVEMENTS

World-wide Calls for Leniency. Enfuriated voices throughout the world have been calling on the ROK military government to extenuate its cruel verdicts on the newspapermen. On August 30, the International Writers' Organization (International Pen Club) representing over 7,000 writers of the world, appealed for clemency in a cable sent to Chairman Park. The Japan Pen Club followed suit on September 1, and cabled Park to stop "suppressing free press." On September 5, some 600 newsmen, critics and literary men of Japan launched a nation-wide signature collecting campaign to petition clemency for the ROK journalists.

Protests and petitions kept pouring in before Chairman Park. The Ceylon Journalist Association issued a protest on Sept. 11, followed by the International Press Institute (world organization of newspaper publishers with headquarters in Zurich, Switzerland) which sent a strong protest to Park on Sept. 20. Other notable associations which have field protests and petitions are: the Burmese Writers' Association, the Soviet Writers' Association, the Japanese Journalists' Association and the U.S. Socialist Party. Countless newspapers throughout the world have denounced the verdicts and have urged the military junta to spare the lives of the journalists.

The International Press Institute cabled another protest following the appellate courts' confirmation of the death sentences. Though countless coups and revolutions have occurred in the past, the world has never experienced journalists being executed involving trial of press. In the eyes of foreigners too, the act to rap death sentences on Koreans who had only worked for unification of their own divided country is highly unwarrantable. The shock and enfuriation felt by the world are fully expressed in the following protests and declarations from abroad:

STATEMENT

Issued by the Ceylon Journalists' Association on Sept. 11, 1961

The Ceylon Journalists' Association views with grave concern the developments taking place in South Korea. The association was perturbed by the news that the reign of terror in that unhappy country has compelled a number of its countrymen to pay dearly by being sentenced to the gallows for the sin of using their pens to appeal to the sensibility of their people with the noble wish of re-unifing their fatherland.

The Ceylon Journalists' Association first and foremost refers to the death sentences passed on three newsmen, Cho Yong-Su, An Shin-Kyu and Song Ji-Yung by militarists in South Korea and secondly to the sentences of long term imprisonment passed on five journalists and writers and thirdly to the closing down of a number of newspapers and news agencies for justly advocating peaceful re-unification of Korea.

These acts which are common in a fascist regime are shocking examples of suppression of one of the fundamental freedoms of humanity, namely the freedom of thoughts and expression, by stooges of U.S. imperialism. These stooges who know that they would not be allowed by the masses to enjoy the reign of terror for long, fear the struggle of the suffering masses of South Korea for political and economic emancipation as those desires have been inspired by the progress made by the brothers in the north with the establishment of a people's rule devoid of exploitation.

The Ceylon Journalists' Association vehemently protests to the authorities of South Korea against their fascist actions and demands the immediate release of all those who either are sentenced to death or imprisonment and the restoration of freedom of thought and expression for the people of South Korea.

We make this demand to the name of the noble profession of journalism, democracy, political decency and justice.

STATEMENT

Issued by the International Press Institute, Zurich, Sept. 29, 1961

The International Press Institute, representing newspaper editors in 48 countries where the press is free, is deeply concerned at the death sentences passed on three executives of the former Seoul newspaper Minjok Ilbo.

The sentences are now under appeal which is due to be heard shortly by a panel of seven judges.

Without seeking in any way to forestall the appeal court's verdict, the International Press Institute feels bound to put on record the profound sense of shock which these three death sentences have caused among its editor-members. Not the least reason for concern has been the lack of detailed information coming from Seoul about this case which has resulted in the impression arising abroad that the three men may have been sentenced mainly because of their journalistic activities and not as a result of any clearly-demonstrated criminal action.

A telegram pointing out this fact which was sent a week ago by the institute to the Government of Republic of Korea has so far remained unanswered.

For this reason, and without wishing to interfere in any way with the due process of law, the Institute, on behalf of its members, expresses the earnest hope that the principles of press freedom in South Korea will be safeguarded and considerations of elementary humanity respected.

APPEAL

Cabled by the International Press Institute to Park Chung Hi on Oct. 27

The International Press Institute, on behalf of its members, representing all the leading newspaper editors in 48 countries, earnestly appeals to your Execellency to exercise clemency on behalf of the three members of the Minjok Ilbo whose death sentences have now been confirmed by the appeal court.

PROTEST

Issued by the Japanese Petition Committee to Save the ROK Journalists on Nov. 7, 1961

Voices requesting clemency for Messrs. Cho Yong-Su, An Shin-Kyu and Song Ji-Yung of the Minjok Ilbo have been raised from all circles of Japan. Besides journalists, scholars, politicians and authors, even housewives have given their signatures in the petition to be sent to the ROK Supreme Council.

In order to safeguard freedom of press and speech, associations such as the International Writers' Association and the International Press Institute have sent appeals to the Supreme Council to protest against the death verdicts.

We are again shocked and feel deeply concerned over the report that ROK Revolutionary Court of Appeals has rejected the appeals from the three newsmen for review wherein we had placed hopes that the journalists will be given clemency.

We, signatories of the petition, have ashembled in Tokyo today and now reiterate our hopes that the Republic of Korea will prove herself a truly democratic country. We, at the same time, protest against the death verdicts given to the three journalists.

70% of South Koreans Infected by Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is eating away the entire South Korean nation. The Choseon Shinmoon (Seoul daily) reported on Oct. 22: "The total number of persons in South Korea infected by tuberculosis is estimated at about 17.5 million. This is roughly 70% of the entire population of 25 million." The rate seems incredible but it is the sad truth. Those infected in the farming districts, for instance, can hardly get any treatment due to their impoverishment and so the disease goes on spreading.

The paper wrote further: "The T.B. death rate is also the highest in the world. Among 100,00 persons, 160 persons die each year as victims of the disease. Those requiring immediate treatment are counted at 800,000 which is 3.2% of the total population and 40,000 die each year. Hospitals in South Korea can receive only 4,200 patients; whereas 500,000 patients require hospitalization. One out of every three persons is a T.B. patient today in South Korea and each hour 4.6 persons are dying, while 60,000 new patients are created each year."

Against such disastrous situation, the military government has appropriated only 6 billion hwan for T.B. care in the 5 years of its economic development plan that begins next year. This is only 68 hwan per patient. One cannot even buy one injection of Streptmycin with that. Something really has to be done or the nation will undoubtedly be run down by tuberculosis.

COUP D'ETAT AND SOUTH KOREA

In the previous volume, we did a general review of the militarists' 5 months rule of South Korea. In the following volumes, we will do a series of probes into the various fields of the country in order to give a vivid picture of the situation. Press and education are treated in this issue. The facts and figures will show that the militarists have done nothing in the direction of "reforms" as President Kennedy has recently applauded. Total destruction of democracy is the work which they have been endulging in.

Part I

PRESS

Suppression

Main Objective: Unification Forces. The death verdicts handed down on the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo highly symbolizes the manner of suppression of free press being executed by the militarists. The sole reason the newsmen were meted out with capital punishments was because they advocated peaceful unification. The militarists are ruthless in their treatment of the unification forces. Besides the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo Case, the Revolutionary Court has given severe sentences including death to 9 leaders of the Student League for National Unification, 6 officials of the Socialist Party, 6 officials of the Reformist Party and 11 leaders of the National Council for Self-unification.

All these defendants were pronounced guilty on exactly the same charges: They had advocated peaceful unification—the line "similar to that of the North Korean Communist regime." But, if the military judges had brains that work logically, it could have been as simple as adding 2 and 2 to realize that unification of the two Koreas so vastly differing in their social structures can only be attained by endorsing the points agreeable: It was absolutely just, proper and natural that the South Koreans who endorsed peaceful unification advocated similar lines with the North Koreans. For, otherwise peaceful unification is an impossibility.

However, the militarists have their own profound reasons to be dead against unification. Once, unification should be attained, they will go out of their jobs and, therefore, must lose the high position they're enjoying now. They must hold South Korea back in her divided state for the sake of preserving their own interests. The suppression of free press being carried out on the pretext of strengthening the anti-Communist structure of South Korea, in truth, is mainly aimed at smothering the nation's demands toward unification. This policy is being stepped up extensively and systematically. The militarists have arrested newsmen, abolished presses, enforced laws to prohibit assemblies and circulating rumors. They've also enacted laws and regulations to control the presses and publishing houses and have even hiked the price of papers so that no Korean with a mind to fight for unification can publish one word on peaceful unification.

Thorough Censorship. As soon as they succeeded in their takeover of the ROK government, the militarists got down to their work of cracking down on the presses. In its Decree no. 1 issued on May 16, the military junta ordered that all

publication and reporting of news must undergo censorship and that no instigation, blasphemy or criticism of the military revolution, including reprinting of foreign wires, must be published. "Fabrication and circulation of rumors" were also prohibited and "those offending these restrictions", the nation was told, "shall be arrested, imprisoned and meted out with punishments up to death."

To this day, the militarists have cast every commitment they made at the outset of their rule to the winds, with the exception of one promise: As far as "strengthening the anti-Communism structure", that is, the perpetuation of the division of Korea is concerned, they've kept their word. On May 18, the Martial Law Command announced that "it was highly regrettable that some of the presses and journalists are publishing news offending the orders given by the military junta, whereby a censorship on press and other publications shall be imposed herewith in accords with the following requirements: no news or other publications must aid the enemy, obstruct the military revolution; impair the public order; harm the public opinion and national sentiment; weaken the military morale or reveal military secrets." As shown here, news aiding the enemy is placed at the top of the taboos. News aiding the enemy naturally meant news dealing with peaceful unification. And those who had wrote about peaceful unification were soon branded "pro-Communists" and rounded up en masse. On the day this directive was proclaimed, the militarists cracked down on the Minjok Ilbo, rounded up its top officers and also arrested countless progressive politicians including Chang Kun-Sang and Su Sang-Il, the 78 and 72 year-old warriors who had spent their lives in fighting for the independence and unification of Korea.

1170 Presses Abolished. On May 23, the junta proclaimed its Decree No. 11 which set down the strict qualification for presses and suspended new registrations. (New registrations were not allowed until the "Registration Law for Newspapers and other Publications" was enforced on July 29 and the "Regulations Concerning Registration of Publishing Firms" announced on Sept. 28.) But the Decree No. 11 which stipulated the measures to liquidate "pseudo-journalists and presses", a thorough liquidation of presses was enforced and, consequently, only 52 newspapers and news agencies were allowed to operate among the total of 912 firms. The breakdown of the liquidation was as follows:

	Registered	Liquidated	Remaining
Newspapers			
Seoul	64	47	17
Local	51	27	24
News agencies			
Seoul	252	241	11
Local	64	64	0
Weeklies			
Seoul	355	324	31
Local	130	129	1

The liquidated presses and news agencies were ordered to hand in their licenses and the reporters were taken up their identification cards and prohibited to do any reporting activities. (Refer: Hankook Ilbo, May 28)

The liquidation was expanded to periodicals and the total of abolished publishing firms reached 1170 houses. The militarists advertised the results in their report on "Two Months' Military Rule." On top of all these firms closed down by the militarists, 351 out of 952 ordinary publishing firms were also cancelled their licenses on the grounds that they had "no publishing records" or "lacked the facilities and equipments requisite for publishing."

Preservation of Big Presses

Opportunists Papers. On July 28, the

Supreme Council announced a draft bill governing the standard and requirements for newspapers and other periodicals. Under the provisions of the bill, each daily newspaper must have a building, rotary press, adequate types with photography and engraving equipments, news services must own buildings and teletype equipment and have contacts with one or more foreign press services, while magazine publishers were asked to have at least 10 million hwan in bank deposits. Institutions which can meet with such vast requirements are definitely limited to those "traditional" big-moneyed publishers and news services. And these big presses are all opportunists who have always flattered the ruling powers ever since the days of Syngman Rhee. These publishers are only interested in protecting their interests. They always served the rulers by covering up for their corruption and incompetency and never dared to report the truth to the public. The militarists will, no doubt, be happy to enlist these big presses, for they are sure to serve faithfully as mouthpieces for the militarists as long as the they can keep their rule.

Kill the Voices of Unification. The measure, on the hand, is aimed to kill the voices of unification, the mortal enemies of the militarists. For, it requires a millionaire to publish one word in South Korea now. Those working for peaceful unification can never raise the money to meet the requirements set by the militarists. In contrast to the profiteers who fattened through illegal transactions and corruption, the unification forces are constituted by the working public. The only Seoul daily they had barely got established was the Minjok Ilbo and inasmuch as it was inaugurated by meager funds scratched together, the paper could not own rotary presses or engraving equipments and had to get its papers printed by such big presses as the Seoul Shinmoon and the Minkook Ilbo. Other organs of the unification movements also had to rely on other big publishing firms to get their journals printed.

Control Measures

Perpetuation of Press Control. The liquidation of "pseudo-presses" was no emergency measure. Control of presses were strengthened particularly by the enforcement of the "Registration Law for Newspapers." (July 28) In the case of the initial liquidation, only rotary presses and types were the requirements for getting okay for publication, but by the new law, papers must also have their own photograph and engraving equipments. News agencies are now required to have printing facilities on top of the building, teletype equipment and contracts with foreign news services. In the case of magazine publishers, they must have at least 10 million hwan in bank deposits.

Besides expanding the requirements for newspapers and news services, the law provided establishment of a new control body and also supervision of publishers and editors. The 4th article of the law stipulated establishment of a "Reviewing Commission" to review the requirements of each newspapers and news agency. And in par. 2 of Art. 2, requests newspapers and agencies to submit copies of family register and personal histories of all publishers, editors and printers and those who violate the requirements "is to be meted out with punishments up to 3 years in prison or penalties up to 10 million hwan."

By this Registration Law for Newspapers, the militarists have effectuated their control on publication of dailies and periodicals. And in order to extend the control to all other publications, the Education Ministry enforced the "Regulations Concerning Registration of Publishing Firms." This directive is aimed to support the censorship system and also facilitate liquidation of medium and small publishing firms.

Tightening of Registration Regulations. The 6th Article of the Directive stipulates that all licensed publishers must submit two copies of their publication to the Education Minister prior to sales and circulation of the publication. The minister will issue a license for pub-

lication when the publication does not offend any of the provisions regulated in Article 12, but in case the Minister rules that a review is necessary, the publication will be sent to the censor commission. The Art. 12 provides that censorship will be done as to whether the publication offends (1) the National Security Law (2) the Anti-Communism Law or (3) the Criminal Law.

The National Security Law and the Anti-Communism Law, of course, are the deadly weapons being fully utilized by the militarists to suppress the voices for unification and also to clamp down on those who oppose the military regime. The National Security Law was enforced by Syngman Rhee to bolster his dictatorship. In order to get the law passed by the Assembly, Rhee mobilized 300 policemen who cornered the opposition in the Assembly lunchroom, while Rhee's Liberals voted on the bill. The incident is remembered as the February 4th Incident. The nation wished abolishment of the law following the April Revolution, but the Democrats who became the ruling party only made slight ammendments on it and the law was left to remain virtually the same. The Anti-Communism Law was the controversial law which the Chang Myun government had to abandon enactment meeting with so much fierce opposition of the nation. The militarists promulgated the Law on July 9. These two laws condemn all organizations which oppose the government "anti-state." And all those persons who encourage, praise or collaborate with such activities are to be meted out with punishments up to 7 years of imprisonment. The North Korean Communist regime is placed at the top of the black list of anti-state organizations. And since the North Korean government advocates the peaceful unification line, those who endorse peaceful unification will be given penalties up to to 7 years on the charge of collaborating with the North Korean government. (Article 4) In the case of activities to organize bodies to work for peaceful unification and participation in such body, the person will be given punishments up to death.

Closing Down of Publishers and Strict Watch. The two laws, the National Security Law and the Anti-Communism Law, are clear-cut devices to suppress the unification movements. In the meantime, by the Ex-Post-Facto-Law, the Revolutionary Court is passing down sentences for the unification movements of the past. These actions show the ruthless posture of the militarists towards the unification forces. So, it is quite clear that the Article 12 of the Education Ministry directive, is mainly provided to censor the publications comprising unification.

The liquidation of medium and small publishers is being pushed forward by such measures as raising of the minimun amount of bank deposits (from the previous 2 hundred thousand hwan to 3 million hwan) (Art. 3, par 4) and cancellation of licenses of those publishers who have not published more than two books during a year's time. (Art. 18)

The watch on publishers is being strictly enforced through the requirements to submit personal histories, "recommendation from ROK Publishers' Association and a written oath. (Art. 3) And report of any change in the registration (name of the publisher and address of the publishing firm) is also requested. (Art. 4)

Watch-dog. The Korean Press Ethics Commission was inaugurated on Sept. 12. The institution was set up to have the presses self-discipline themselves. So, presses are now controlled doubly by the government and by themselves. By the establishment of this watch-dog body, the presses looked forward for easing up of government control. But the militarists did not offer any such concession. Official control over the sources of news is as strict as ever. Government offices still deny reporters access to information sources and only make prepared handouts to them. The newspapers have criticized that such toughness is a complete negation of the people's right to know more than just what the government wants them to know. But, restrictions are being tightened the more. Korean newspapers were recently

ordered not to publish either the title or the contents of proposed laws and cabinet ordinances not officially announced.

On the same day, a "Standard of Conduct of Newsmen" was announced and all news reporters are requested to abide by the standard to ensure respective and responsible reporting. Under the new press code, publishers will be held responsible for libel up to 10 million hwan. Moreover, if a publisher carries defamatory stories more than three times a year, it would result in cancellation of the press registration. Under this harsh regulation, a newspaper is allowed to live only as long as it does not make 3 mistakes in a year! And the newspapers is always left at the mercy of the interpreter who judges the libel term.

In such manner, control on presses is complete and thorough. The presses are hog-tied head and foot. Still, Chairman Park Chung-Hi was shamefaced enough to declare from the rostrum of the National Press Club in Washington: "I declare the Republic of Korea enjoys freedom of press."

No Freedom

Continuous Arrests of Newsmen. The control on news reporters have been equally severe as that on publishers. On May 27, the Front Line Martial Law Command announced that some 70 "pseudo-jounalists" were arrested by the Command on May 24 and 25. On June 4, the Back Line Martial Law Command announced that it had arrested more than 60 newsmen.

Now, what was this standard by which the militarists singled out "pseudo-newsmen"? On June 3, Home Minister Han stated: "Control over journalists will be enforced first by seperating the good from the bad. Among the arrested newsmen, those who have shown repentance have been already released, but those suspected of pro-Communist leanings shall not be released until they are cleared of their suspicions." The minister meant to say that those newsmen who collaborated with the peaceful unification movement which was also endorsed by the North Korean government and those who criticized the incompetence and corruption and also the anti-unification policies of the previous governments will not be released. Under the militarists, those newsmen who praise and collaborate with the government inspite of its incompetency and corruption are the good ones, and those who have the courage enough to criticize the government in order to write the truth are the bad ones, who should be arrested and put away.

Corporal Punishment for "Circulating Rumors". On May 18, the city section chief of the Minkook Ilbo (Seoul daily), Lee He-Bok was arrested on charges of "false reporting." The report was about the seizure of the Military Academy by the coup forces. As the Academy cadets showed resistance, the report used the term "seizure" and had got by the censorship of the militarists. Still the reporter had to be punished by the junta which had hoped to give an impression as if the cadets expressed spontaneous support to the coup d'etat. Recently, a reporter of the Donga Ilbo (Seoul daily) after interviewing Ambassador Juan M. Arreglado, the Philippine Delegate to the United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, wrote: "The Ambassador revealed that ministers of the Chang Myun Government and military officers now under house arrest might be released during November. He also said clemency will likely be given to the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo." (Refer: Donga Ilbo, Sept. 12) The reporter wrote nothing more than what the Ambassador had said but was given 6 months in jail for "fabricating false rumors."

Control on speech is not limited to the presses. The general public too is ordered not to circulate rumors. On Aug. 13, Central Intellegence Agency Chief, Kim Jong-Pil warned: "any one who circulates subversive discontents, false and misleading informations shall be punished severely." 13 days after the warning, a Seoul shop-owner by the name of Cho Kae-Sung was arrested and given 5 months in jail for

"circulating false rumors."

In this way, no one is allowed to speak his mind in South Korea today. The nation is gagged. Freedom of speech and press has been smothered by the dirty hands of the militarists.

Part II
EDUCATION

Dangerous Foes

Biting Winds. On September 30, the Revolutionary Court of the military government rapped severe sentences including 15-year prison terms on 9 leaders of the Student League for National Unification. The severity of the verdicts were commented as unparalleled in the world history of student movements. Instant protests have arisen from both home and abroad. The trial is highly symbolic of the biting winds that are blowing on the campuses of ROK universities now. The brutal bayonets of the militarists have crushed through the gates of academic freedom. They have put all educational institutions, regardless of public or private, under their control, and all personnel administration and even research works are being supervised by the militarists. Deep melancholy and panic reign in ROK schools now.

Everyone admits by now that the direct cause which brought about the military coup d'etat was the rising tide of the peaceful unification movement spearheaded by the students. The coup leaders themselves acknowledged this point: In their "Statement on Government Takeover" handed to the United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), the militarists explained: "Since the April 19th Uprisings last year, some 500,000 students have participated in constant demonstrations counting up to 72 times. This represents about one half of the entire ROK schooling population from elementary schools up to universities. The students acted like politicians and endorsed economic and cultural exchanges between North and South Korea. They became intoxicated with self-conceit and pseudo-heroism. Their demonstrations were instigated by pro-Communist elements whereby they became tools of Communism." By branding the students pro-Communists, the military junta sought to convince the UNCURK that they were right in their usurpation of the legitimate ROK Government which the UNCURK was assigned by the U.N. to safeguard. The military regime has admitted that its greatest foe is the unification forces. It has rounded up all the leaders of the unification movement and have already condemned many of them to die at the gallows.

But, such terrorism alone could not shut up the students and the militarists cannot rest assured yet. Students, in the past, have fought dauntlessly in bringing down the tyrannical Syngman Rhee regime and in shuddering the incompetent Chang Myun Government.

Fearless Resistances. Fearless as they are, ROK students are not to be pinned down by the iron-fisted rule of the militarists. Continuous resistances against high-handed junta policies are being staged by ROK students. In early June, students of Joyang High School went on a school strike agitating against "incompetent teachers." Collegiates of Cheongju University also staged a strike against "incompetent professors" and requesting "reduction of association fees," Leaders of these strikes were, of course, dealt severely by the military regime and were given prison terms of 8 to 10 months as well as getting expelled from their schools. In early September, students of Seoul National University Teachers College held a student rally to protest against the government's "university reorganization plan" which arranged broad mergers and abolishments of colleges and dismissal of so

30 Medical Students Arrested for Striking

Over 700 students of the Soodo Medical College went on a mass strike on Nov. 3 in protest against the expelling of 6 students who had petitioned for reduction of tuition fees. The military government intervened in the school affair and some 30 students were arrested by the police on Nov. 9.

The college student body staged the strike demanding restoration of the six student representatives expelled on Sept. 7 for asking rduction in the registration fees for the past autumn semester which petition they, at the end, took to the Education Ministry.

Each student of the school was asked to pay 99,700 hwan for enrollment, of which 43,000 hwan was for laboratory expenses and PTA fees. The enormous amount of the fee touched off the controversy.

The Educational Minister Mun warned the students that if they continued to walk out on their lessons, they will be dealt with severely. The students returned to their classrooms and the situation was normalized. Nevertheless, the police cracked down on the student body and rounded up all the alleged leaders of the strike on charges of holding illegal assembly.

many professors. On account of the rally, 3 professors including the dean of the Teachers College were immediately dismissed by the military government. These incidents indicate how vastly the militarists fear the valor, activeness and organized power of ROK students.

Reorganization

Cut on Enrollment. During the aperture of the summer vacation, the military regime hurriedly finished up its work on reorganizing the universities and colleges of South Korea. Although reorganization is an agreeable measure, the question is how it's going to be done. To the great regrets and enfuriations of ROK educational circles, the militarists drew up a reorganization program towards an entirely disagreeable direction: Colleges will be decentralized; students enrollment number will be slashed; militarist doctrine and training will be imposed; parents and guardians will be requested to share more of the expenses and teachers and professors will be controlled and disiplined by the education ministry.

On June 9, Education Minister Mun Hi-Suk (marine colonel) assembled all the heads of the 65 colleges and universities of South Korea in Seoul and after lecturing to them about "redisciplining" to be done by "keeping professors and students out of polictial activities and labor unions," he pointed out that the "real cause of impoverishment in the rural areas lay in the centralization of universities into cities." (Refer: June 10th Hankuk Ilbo) It was pitiful that the students should be blamed for the poverty brought on the farmers of South Korea. The novelty of Mun's argument was criticized as ridiculous as cursing the river for flowing downwards.

So came the decentralization of universities and the huge cut on student enrollment. The Kyunghyang Shinmoon (Seoul daily) reported on Sept. 15: "Minister Mun announced his university reorganization plan yesterday at a meeting of all the heads of ROK universities and colleges. According to this plan, the number of university and college students will be slashed to about 50,000 from the current 104,694 (actual enrollment: about 143,000) of which 20,000 will be enrolled in state universities and the remaining 30,000 in private institutes. This is a cut of 60%. And for example, the number of students attending the Seoul National University, the highest seat of learning in South Korea, will be reduced from the current 12,700 at 8,640 as of 1962. Skeptics, of

course, suspected the militarists of pushing the nation into mental backwardness at the expenses of limiting the people's right to higher education. The less number of students, the less troubles the militarists will have is the way the militarists think.

"Cause of Rural Improverishment." We have mentioned Mun's absurd logic about students and rural impoverishment above. This is how Minister Mun has figured: He says that the impoverishment of the farming districts is because the students from rural areas transfer their buying power to urban areas. He has even produced dubious statistics to make his point. He asserts that these rural students who number about half of the total college students spend some 28 million hwan each year. And as the government. he goes on, is subsidizing about 30 million hwan yearly to farms as operation funds, all the government money spent on farms, therefore, goes into the cash registers of universities. If this trend is not stopped, he concludes, the poverty-stricken farmers cannot ever be relieved. It would have been more reasonable if the Minister had honestly admitted that the measures are to be carried out in face of the potential dangers that the students pose on the military regime. On the contrary, the militarists have stressed that they are not cutting the number of collegiates in fear of the threatening stands which the students are taking towards the military dictatorship, and have constantly reiterated that the drastic reorganization is being done for the sake of relieving the burdens of the farming district. Such is evil prospering under the sun.

Abolishment of Schools and Increase of Association Fees. The slashing of student enrollment number will be done partly through the abolishment of universities. Those universities liable for abolishment under the program are:

(1) schools connected with "illicit profiteering"
(2) schools having troubles with their board of directors
(3) schools having financial difficulties and
(4) schools having poor installations and faculty staff.

None of these four points are the faults of students. The militarists' way is to close up all those institutions, whether good or bad, merely for the sake that they are weak in their foundations. It is quite clear that all the universities will get into severe financial trouble when student enrollment is cut. Over-enrollment in private universities has been practiced as a means to ease their financial difficultites. These difficulties, it should be noted, are the products of poor educational administration. The government have hardly fulfilled its responsibility of bringing up educational institutes. They had hardly any money to spare for education. As compared to all the money spent on defense, those for education is microscopic. If the militarists are going to cut down on the enrollment, they must give out subsidies to the institutes. Otherwise, the loss of income will force the universities into bankruptcy. But. the militarists just keep mum about such matters. As a matter of fact, they are said to be inclined to get the guardians look after the ensuing financial troubles. The Hankuk Ilbo reported as early as July 22: "The military government directed all state universities to economize." In other words, the militarists requested the state universities to operate on a "self-paying basis." And on Sept. 14, Education Minister Mun warned university presidents that "the government was going to save on educational expenditures." "Go to hell!" is the attitude the militarists are assuming in relation to university administration.

Militarization

Thought Control and Military Education. The militarists have built two high walls to contain academic freedom and to impose thought control. On July 15, the Education Ministry announced that "state entrance examinations" will hereafter be held to permit entrance to schools

and "state bachelor degree examinations" to allow graduation from universities. (Refer: Choseon Ilbo, July 15) The uprisings of high school students of Masan and Taekyu ignited the April Revolution last year. And the university students were the mainstay of the progressive forces that pushed forward the peaceful unification drives following the April Revolution. So, it is too clear that these examinations were devised as crucifixes for the students to bear on their backs.

Thought control on students is being enforced through many other methods. "Crush all indirect aggressions" is one of the 4 big objectives of the militarists' educational policy. And for this, military training is being strengthened to extremes. During a month period from July 29, students of 16 universities were given military drills amounting to 325 hours. Military trainers also have been sent into all the universities and high schools whereby students must undergo tough military training "in order to make good soldiers." Militarism has been permeated into ROK schools.

Government Appointed Presidents and Professors. So far, state university presidents and professors were appointed by the Prime Minister at the recommendation of the Education Minister with the consent of the university faculty. But since the militarists have enforced their "Special Provisional Law on Education", presidents and, vice-presidents of state and public universities and colleges will be appointed by the "Chief of the Cabinet at the recommendation of the Education Minister and after review of the Education Committee of the Supreme Council." (Art. 11, par. 2) The heads of graduate schools and deans of universities will be appointed "by the Education Minister at the recommendation of the university president." (Art. 11, par. 3) Professors, acting professors and assistant professors will be appointed "by the Chief of the Cabinet at the recommendation of the university president." (Art. 11, par. 4) The law, in this way, have deprived the university faculty entirely of its right to name its own staff officers and even professors. By this law, the appointment of 12 university presidents including Chang Pek-Sung, President of Dongkook University, were cancelled. On the other hand, Yun Tai-Lin, Dean of the Seoul National University Teachers College and 2 other professors of the same college were dismissed on September 13 on charges of participating in the student rally staged on September 6 in protest to the university reorganization program.

The most exorbitant point of the law is that the provisions are to be applied on private universities too. The Korea Times commented in its September 5 editorial: "The stipulated authority of the Education Minister to abolish or merger of schools or departments in universities, far surpasses the due extent of official control. It is our belief that private universities who act upon their own initiative and account, shall come under overall supervision of the governmnet beyond which the civil code should govern only the relations between the government and school. Public schools may well be held subservient to the government because the latter is both the creator and the financial patron of the former. But private educational institutions are different in this basic respect. Not giving any help, the government will not be in a position to stick its finger too deep in the household affairs of private universities."

In the meantime, 7 professors including Chai Ho-Jin, Dean of Chungang University Economics College and President of Korean Economist Academy, were ousted from their respective colleges. The reasons were that they had written books, in the past, undesirable to the militarists. These books, as a matter of fact, were not questioned even by the Japanese imperialists nor Syngman Rhee. Professor Chai, it should be noted, had worked as counsel to the Supreme Council's Special Investigation Committee to Probe Illicit Profiteering. Some interpreted his dismissal as an

intrigue plotted by the suspicious Central Intelligence Agency.

Mass Purge of Teachers. Mass purges of educators are not limited to universities and colleges. Teachers of high schools and elementary schools are being turned out en masse too. On June 10, Minister Mun spoke at the meeting of all-ROK school heads and directed the educators to "block all Communist activities in schools" and to "purge all incompetent educators including draft-dodgers and those having concubines." It is quite right that educators possessing concubines be dismissed but as to what criteria by which the militarists will judge as "pro-Communists" and "incompetent" is highly questionable. On June 8, Minister Mun, speaking before the heads of all ROK universities, denounced the nation-wide hunger strike carried out by the National Federation of Teachers Union last year as "an intrigue aimed at communizing South Korea." Thus, it is quite clear that the militarists will condemn all activities like demands for collective bargaining, academic freedom, improvement of educational administration etc. as "maneuvers of Red elements."

As regards draft-dodgers among teachers, those who had evaded enlisting during the Korean War were right if they had rejected the draft in opposition to killing among fellow countrymen and such teachers, it is pointed out, should not be treated in the same line with "incompetent teachers." But the sorrowful fact is that this marine colonel-turned-Education Minister Mun believes that the best teacher is the one that can educate his pupils so that the student can charge into the ranks of fellow Koreans up North and kill as many as he can. The dismissal of draft-dodgers from teachership together with the purges of draft-dodgers carried out already in government offices and private enterprises, is looked upon as an obvious measure to militarize the nation. And in place of the "incompetent teachers", thousands of retired army officers are being "reappointed" as teachers and military trainers.

Undermining

Serious Financial Difficulties and Shortage of Teachers. According to the Special Provisional Law on Education, the retirement age of all teachers from universities on down to elementary schools was set at 60. Critics have commented that such low retirement age is too extravagant for an underdeveloped country like South Korea. Conditions in South Korea is not very productive in bringing up new trained educators. Even in Japan, which is rich in intellectuals, the retirement age of professors ranges from 65 to 70. The lowering of retirement age, therefore, is considered a clear move to replace "undesirable" teachers with militarists-inclined persons. In accords with this new regulation, 12 brilliant professors including President Yun Il-Sung left Seoul National University on September 30. As stated above, private institutes are bound by the provision too. Unlike civil servants, including professors at state-run universities, it was critcized as highly improper that professors of private universities should retire at a time when the government sees fit. The Korea Times wrote: "If there is need to fire retirement age for them, it would reasonable set at 65, as is the case with supreme court justices."

In this way, the military regime is utilizing every pretext to purge scholars who are more or less reluctant in cooperating with the militarists. And drafting of teachers to other fields and the government's economization on educational expenditures on top of the mass purges have placed ROK schools in unprecedented shortage in teachers. Under the headlines; "State Universities in Severe Managing Difficulties" and "Mass Discharge at Teachers College", the Donga Ilbo (Seoul daily) wrote on Sept. 11: "Due to want of managing funds, the Seoul National University Teachers College yesterday dismissed practically all of its lecturers at the beginning of the new semester. On this account, lecture hours were curtailed and the school management is in a terrible

jam."

Overwork for Teachers and Cut on School Hours. According to the announcement made by the Seoul National University Teachers College, on Sept. 11, the college discharged 58 lecturers which brought along cut of lecture hours from 1,512 hours down to 1,262 hours per day. The Donga Ilbo reported on Sept. 13 that the Seoul National University Medical College had to make big cuts in its lecture hours because 4 professors and 30 lectuerers were drafted by the government for its medical program.

Teacher shortage in junior and senior high schools of South Korea is equally serious. According to the figures given by the military government, 19,815 teachers are needed to operate all the public junior and senior high schools of South Korea today, but due to fund shortage only 9,318 teachers are employed which indicates a shortage of 9,718 teachers (50%). (Refer Aug. 9 Hankuk Ilbo)

This shortage is naturally supplemented by overwork imposed on the teachers. According to the Aug. 9 Hankuk Ilbo, the government directed all principals and vice principals to do 6 to 12 hours of teaching per week and 22 to 26 hours to all ordinary teachers in order to cover up for the shortage of teaching personnel. In the meantime, student enrollment is going to be cut down. The policy of the militarists is to cover up its poor educational administration by imposing overwork on teachers, lowering the academic level and cutting down on the number of students.

Crumbling Installations. Owing to the lack of appropriations for education ever since the days of Syngman Rhee, schools did not have enough money even for maintaining their existing installations. So, school buildings and installations are being left to crumble down. The public is being levied "Education Taxes" and each guardian is requested to give financial support to the school his pupil attends. The trend shows how education is neglected in South Korea. Just recently, the roof of a first grade classroom of the Cheon-An Elementary School in Kyungki province, suddenly collapsed on the little children. No storm was blowing. It was a perfect day. Thanks to the cool-headed teacher, all the children were guided safely out of the classroom without a single casualty. Practically all elementary schools are left in similar conditions. Poor children of South Korea! They must study under constant fear of the roofs and walls of their classroom falling down on them.

Summary

The militarists who fear the students as their strongest opposition have thus facilitated their onslaught on them by, firstly, cutting down on their numbers and are going to send great many of them back into rural areas. As methods to obtain this end, the militarists have enforced abolishment and merger of universities and colleges and all this is being done in the name of "relieving the impoverishment of farming districts." But it is clear to anyone's eyes that the militarists' real intent is to recruit youths into the army in order to strengthen the war potential.

Secondly, they've organized "state entrance examinations" and "state graduation examinations" with the aim to put a thought control on students and also have increased military training hours in schools so as to perpetuate their militarism.

Thirdly, the militarists have deprived the college faculties of their heretofore rights to appoint their own presidents and professors and by setting the retirement age at 60, is scheming to replace "undesirable" teachers with their favorite scholars.

Lastly, the militarists are ordering "economization on school expenses" in order to provide more money for defense needs. For this, educators of universities on down to grammar schools are being discharged en masse; student guardians are being asked to pay more association fees, and teachers are ordered to do more work. It must be said that a cold biting wind of militarism is blowing through the campuses and grounds of ROK universities and schools.

Higher Education in Crisis

A Report by Korea Times (Nov. 9)

"A tragic mistake" is being committed by the Korean government in placing an ever-decreasing priority upon the improvement of higher education here, an official of the United States aid authorities in Korea recently observed. Another Korean university professor joined him to deplore the gloomy prospects of Korea's higher education in the years ahead that will result from half-heartedness on the part of the government toward vital reform in institutions of higher learning.

The crux of the matter is money, and the consensus is: the Korean government, being preoccupied with the task of rebuilding her creaky economy, stints money and energy in the educational field. Most of the economy-minded government officials tend to neglect the importance of education, thus giving less priority to it, making it even third best after the economic sector.

However, those in the government who are directly in charge of education as well as men in the teaching profession point out that such is a grave mistake. Without trained leadership and qualified public administrators and technicians produced by well-managed and well-equiped universities, they say, who is going to run the country and factories and plants?

As other sectors of the government administration have been, so education in Korea has been largely dependent upon the technical and financial assistance from United States and such international bodies as UNKRA and UNESCO. Recently, the growing possibility of a drastic cut in the spending of aid money on educational projects, coupled with the lack of coordination between the giving and receiving sides, has brought the imminent crisis of Korea's higher education into the open.

Sources at the United States Operations Mission to Korea indicated that the Education Division in the mission will soon be abolished because it no longer has functions under present circumstances where educational problems are belittled.

All officials concerned, attribute this to the reluctance of the government to give sufficient aid to the reform of higher education. Some hold the Economic Planning Board, in particular, to blame. Planners on the board reportedly do not favor the allocation of foreign aid funds for general higher education except for the technological part of it.

Earlier an educational survey team made up of American professors recommended in its report on national higher education that all units of Seoul National University with the exception of Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine and Engineering, be located on the central campus. The relocation proposal which will cost an estimated amount of $36 million together with 50 billion hwan in local currency got a snub on the grounds of lack of funds in the national treasury.

It is undestandable that the present government budget is not able to afford such a gigantic project. However, if the government is ready to spare even a meager portion of available aid funds for educational purposes, other minor reforms as have been suggested by Dr. C.W. Wood of the Minnesota University advisory team can be effected to do great benefit.

A series of other valuable research and surveys conducted by experts should not be left unheaded if Korea is going to survive the great intellectual challenge of the contemporary era. Both the Korean government and the foreign aid authorities concerned must be willing to pay any price to lift our higher education out of crisis. A marvelous opportunity for rapid national rehabilitation lies in the development of youthful human resources.

FRUITLESS JOURNEY

Park's Visit to U.S.

Dictator Park Chung Hi flew into Washington with great hopes. He was welcomed by the U.S. officialdom with the usual pomp and lavish receptions and President Kennedy offered strong words of support. But, substantially, Park could not win a single U.S. cent nor a single weapon to carry back to South Korea to help the crumbling economy or bolster the defense. So, inspite of his parrotlike repitition of "complete success", Park's visit to the U.S. ended in a fruitless journey.

Main Objectives. If the displeasure that the U.S. government had shown towards the ROK military government six months ago is to be considered, then the U.S. approval which Park received for his government may be claimed a success. But President Kennedy apparently did not invite Park to Washington merely for the sake of that nor Park himself, it is sure, did not travel half way across the world for such formality.

The main objectives of Park's visit were to get more economic aids—especially U.S. investment for his five-year economic development plan and to obtain more military aid and to discuss on strengthening the defense line of Northeast Asia. The U.S. plan, reportedly, was to sound out Park's economic reconstruction and government transfer programs and also to persuade him to expedite normalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan.

No Commitments. In a press conference on Oct. 18, Park had said that the real cause of the chronic ailment of ROK economy lies in the contradicting conditions wherein South Korea has to do the work of developing her economy and spend so much on defense efforts at the same time. So, Park looked forward to his U.S. tour to get increased aids for relaxing the contradicting conditions. He even predicted bright prospects for increased U.S. aids to Korea as Korea is, he asserted, fully prepared for making the best use of the assistances, and he cited the establishment of his five year plan.

Park in his talks with President Kennedy and other U.S. leaders pleaded for additional U.S. aids to Korea and worked hard to get his five year plan sold. It was reported that a six hour discussion took place between ROK and U.S. officials on Nov. 14 in an effort to obtain specific U.S. endorsement of the five year plan. But, at the end, President Kennedy only expressed interest and did not give his personal approval. He, instead, pledged U.S. economic support for the goals of South Korean long-range development. So, all Korean long-range development, which was stated in the Joint Communique.

"Fantastic Plan". Park admitted his failure in a press conference with Korean newsmen on Nov. 15 and disclosed that the U.S. government had opposed to some points of the plan and that no agreement had been reached in his talks with the President and other U.S. officials as to the specific U.S. commitment to help the five year plan. On this point, the correspondent of the Hankook Ilbo (Seoul daily) reported. "A top U.S. economic expert close to the President said on Nov. 15 that Chairman Park asked the U.S. to offer $2.3

billion for his five year plan. The expert sympathized with the ambitious goals of the program but said that the plan was fantastic."

The Mainichi Shinbun (Tokyo daily) correspondent wrote in a similar tone:" Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges told the South Koreans that the Republic of Korea lacked the conditions to attract foreign investment and urged them to create such conditions."

Reduction of Aids. So, Park had to admit that no specific figures were given on U.S. economic aid to Korea in fiscal 1962 and said that President Kennedy gave the impression at the first meeting on Nov. 14 that the fiscal 1962 aid will be less than that in 1961. The United States has been barely able to maintain annual economic and military aid to South Korea to the tune of 500 million dollars, of which most has been spent in the past to maitain the 600,000-man ROK army. The cut in 1962 is expected to be about 30 million dollars.

In the meantime, a group of South Korean businessmen who visited the U.S. concurrently also failed in their attempts to attract private American investments which South Korea's planners wishfully hoped to get about 130 million dollars to be incorporated in the five year plan. The businessmen were told that a stable government was needed in order to induce private foreign investments.

So, in such manner, Park's all-out desparate efforts to get U.S. checks to take back home for his ailing economy ended in complete failure.

No Extra Military Aid Either. On defense problems, Park confered for more than 2½ hours with Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. The U.S. officials, it was reported, promised modernization of South Korea's arms and equipments but did not mention any increase in military aid. On the contrary, the Mainichi Shimbun correspondent reported, Secretary McNamara pointed out to the South Koreans that the U.S. was supplying not only arms and equipments but even daily necessities to the ROK army and requested South Koreans to increase their sharing of defense expenses so much so that U.S. assistance hereafter can be limited to supply of arms and equipments.

It seems clear that Park had failed to win additional aid here either. But if Park had knew the recent trend of U.S. foreign aids, he would have at least saved himself from being discouraged. From the standpoint of U.S. world strategy, there are other areas than Korea—South Vietnam, for instance—that requires urgent U.S. aid. Then, the President is in no position to make prompt commitments on foreign aids without due authorization of the Congress. And the Congress is very critical about the Administration's past aid programs to South Korea.

Northeast Asia Defense Pact and ROK-Japan Talks. Before his departure to the United States, Park said that he would discuss with President Kennedy how to strengthen and maintain Korean armed forces in an attempt to build up stronger anti-Communist bastions and security in Northeast Asia. Since Communist infiltration into South Vietnam is causing great annoyance to the U.S., it could be easily understood that the U.S. government would welcome any efforts towards bolstering the defense lines along the Northeast Asian front. The so-called Northeast Asia Defense Organization plan comprises the area covering South Korea, Japan, Okinawa and Formosa.

It was interpreted that one of the main reasons why President Kennedy invited Park to the U.S. was to urge him to facilitate the normalization of diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan. Although nothing was mentioned about the matter in the Joint Communique and although Park said he was rather surprised that the President had not touched on ROK-Japan relations, still it was highly possible that Park was sounded out by the U.S. leaders on South Korea's position on the ROK-Japan talks and also the results of his talks with Premier Hayato Ikeda of Japan.

ROK-Japan Cooperation. U.S. aid to

Korea in 1962 is expected to decrease by 30 million dollars from that during 1961. And since South Korea has to buy relatively high American products in line with the Buy American Policy, the substantial decrease is calculated to be at about 30%. To fill up for the gap, the U.S., reportedly, wants Japan to step in and share in the work to aid the distressed South Korean economy. So, the U.S. leaders were busy during the early part of November in getting the two estranged neighbors to bury their hatchets and to settle down to cooperate.

Thus, when all things are closely observed and considered, President Kennedy did hardly listen to the desparate tone of Park's pleadings. He, on the contrary, assigned a lot of home works for Park to take back since he seemed so earnest in accomplishing his "military revolution."

Dislike of Dictators. The attitude of the American public in receiving Park and his party was reported as very cold. When Park was welcomed by Vice President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk at the Washington airport, he was said to have been near tears with emotion but once he stepped into the streets of the capital, the dictator was exposed to the critical eyes of the American public. The correspondent of the Donga Ilbo (Seoul daily) reported: "When a foreign chief of state visits Washington, citizens would line the streetsides to welcome the dignitary but on the occasion of Park's visit, not a single soul came out to greet the Chairman and Park's limousine led by 2 escort cars sped silently through the drizzling road to the White House."

The coldness of the American public was not due to indifference. Repulsion against dictators was imminent there. The distrust and dislike of Americans to dictators came to the fore at the National Press Club Luncheon held in Park's honor on Nov. 16. The questions put to Park were really stinging and embarrassing. He was asked how he justified the imprisonment of newsmen and suppression of freedom of press. Another question was: Since he had insulted all the politicians so much so that they will hardly get themselves elected again, were he and his comrads going to enter in the elections. And why must the general elections wait until 1963?

Inspite of the lies, Park was reported to have answered these question in a very humble tone so unbecoming of him. Prior to the queries, Park gave an address that lasted for about an hour. He explained that a "medical operation had to be done in South Korea", boasted his "achievements" and reiterated his pledge that "the military rule won't be prolonged any more than absolutely necessary" The address was full of lies like his answers to the newsmen's questions.

Park presumed that Americans would heartily welcome any one who is fighting Communism. But he was surely dis-illusioned and shown his place by the American people. In his press conference with Korean correspondents, Park sighed: "It seems to me that Americans who are so used to democracy and the democratic way of life find it difficult to understand the actual reality in Korea."

Anxiety Back Home. Seoul papers have expressed reserved anxieties towards the failure of Park's journey. The Donga Ilbo's Nov. 17 editorial rejected the U.S. view that "South Korea should bring up small domestic industries" instead of heavy industries and requested the U.S. to realize the fact that the present business stagnation in South Korea was the result of past U.S. reluctance in developing basic industries of South Korea. The Korea Times said in its Nov. 16th editorial: "the next step we expect the U.S. to take is to translate into positive action the avowed realization of the long-range economic plan. The prospect of Korea's recovery from war damages and modernization tends to darken as the U.S. economic aid will be on a gradual decrease with only little done to get the Korean economy back on its own feet. The Washington parley should not wind up in mere reaffirmation of what has existed between the U.S. and Korea so far."

TEXT OF ROK-US JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Nov. 14, 1961

Chairman Park and President Kennedy concluded today a friendly and constructive exchange of views on the current situation in Korea and the Far East and the various matters of interest to the governments and peoples of the Republic of Korea and the United States of America.

Foreign Minister Choi, Secretary of State Rusk and other officials of the two governments participated in the conversations.

The two leaders reaffirmed the strong bonds of friendship traditionally existing between the two countries and their determination to intensify their common efforts toward the establishment of world peace based on freedom and justice.

The Chairman reviewed the situation in Korea which led to the military revolution of May 16 and set forth the achievements made by the revolutionary government.

He emphasized the positive steps taken by the government for social reform and economic stability, particularly the new government's actions to reform the civil service, rationalize tax collections, abolish usury in local areas, increase employment opportunities, stimulate investment and expand both domestic and foreign trade.

He emphasized as well the positive steps taken by the government in strengthening the nation against Communism and in eliminating corruption and other social evils.

The President welcomed Chairman Park's full exposition of the current situation in the Republic of Korea and expressed his gratification at the many indications of progress made by the new government of the Republic.

The Chairman reiterated the solemn pledge of the revolutionary government to return the government to civilian control in the summer of 1963, as he declared in his statement made on Aug. 12, 1961.

The President particularly expressed his satisfaction with the Korean government's intention to restore civilian government at the earliest possible date.

The two leaders discussed the position of Korea in the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East and in this connection reviewed the continuing contribution of United States economic and military assistance to the strengthening of the Korean nation.

Recognizing that the successful achievement of Korean economic development in accordance with the long-range plan is indispensable to build a democratic foundation and to maintain a strong anti-Communist posture in Korea, the President expressed great interest in Korea's five-year economic development plan.

In this connection, he assured the Chairman that the United States government would continue to extend all possible economic aid and cooperation to the Republic of Korea, in order to further such long-range economic development.

The Chairman and the President discussed the problem of mutual defense against the threat of external armed aggression in the Pacific area. They recognized the common interest of their two countries as bulwarks of the free world against Communist expansion is deepened and reinforced by the fact that Korean and United States troops are brother-in-arms, standing side by side in the United Nations Command for the defense of Korean soil.

The President reaffirmed the determination of the United States to render forth with and effectively all possible assistance to the Republic of Korea, in accordance with the mutual defense treaty between the Republic of Korean and the United States of America signed on Oct. 1, 1953, including the use of armed forces, if there is a renewal of armed attack.

The two leaders recalled that Korea had been successfully defended against armed aggression by the first collective military measures pursuant to the call of the United Nations.

They recalled the declarations by United Nations members whose military forces participated in the Korean action, including their reaffirmation that in the interests of world peace, "if there is a renewal of armed attack, challenging again the principles of the United Nations, we would again be united and prompt to resist."

The Chairman and the President reaffirmed their faith in the United Nations, and their determination to seek reunification of Korea in freedom through peaceful means under the principles laid down and reaffirmed by the United Nations General Assembly.

Chairman Park and President Kennedy expressed their satisfaction with their meeting and discussions and reiterated their resolve to continue to serve the cause of freedom and democracy and to strengthen the friendly ties between their two peoples.

BITTER HUMILIATION

Park - Ikeda Talks

Chairman Park Chung Hi, in his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda (Nov. 12) on his way to the United States, made concessions equal to unconditional surrender. Koreans had stood steadfast by their rightful claims throughout the long off-and-on ROK-Japan talks going on for a decade. But, now Park has come along to throw away all the bitterness and claims overnight. As Ikeda remarked after his meeting with Park: "We must not let go of this good chance," the Japanese, in wily manner, took advantage of the plight which the ROK military government has fallen into. The normalization talks, in the meantime, have been stepped up by the back-of-the-scenes urging by the U.S. Koreans will truly regret it if South Korea is going to be forced into accepting the humiliation.

Concessions. The following are the major concessions Park made to the Japanese: (1) Park admitted (at a press conference after meeting Ikeda) that he accepted the Japanese position which insists that a political settlement of the pending issues should be preceded by significant discussions at the technical level. (2) He dismissed the concept that ROK claims are war reparations and said that ROK would ask payment of claims only supported by "legal evidences." (3) He declared that his government is prepared to "take a more flexible stand" on the so-called Peace Line and fishery issue if Japan shows "sincerity on the claims problem.

Normalization talks between South Korea and Japan began on Oct. 20, 1951. The present talks which opened on Oct. 20, are the sixth of a series of such negotiations going on for ten years. Throughout the years, Koreans had asked that all claims be met by the Japanese government. Japan, on the other hand, insisted on paying only legally based property claims and also to give out economic aids. If "legal evidences" are to be required to support the claims of the Korean people, all claims prior to the surrender of Japan will have to be abandonned since the Japanese burned all the evidences at the termination of World War II. Moreover, the Japanese have not yielded an inch in their stand to consider their colonial rule of Korea as "legal" and have committed to pay only 50 million dollars.

Bargain Sale. The military government had heretofore stressed a "political settlement" prior to negotiations on the concrete terms and figures of the claims. To be precise, Premier Song Yo-Chan and Foreign Minister Choi Duk-Shin take this line. But, Chairman Park, persuaded by the U.S., is inclined to the idea of stepping up the talks at all costs. As to the Peace Line, Park was of the idea to use the issue to get concessions from the Japanese. But, according to what a Japanese official revealed on the issue, the Peace Line will be virtually abolished after conclusion of an agreement on fishery conservation. Park has apparently lost in his game. This means that he has betrayed the interests of his own countrymen. Fishermen of S. Korea are suffering under extreme impoverishment no better than the farming populace. Park is giving away the rights of these poverty-ridden people at a bargain price. The wily politicians of Japan, who are seeking the deal in exchange for economic aid, are preying on the plightful situation in which Park's government has fallen into.

Anti-Japanese Feeling. Ever since the militarists took over in South Korea, attempts to expedite normalization of relations between ROK and Japan has been pushed forward under the auspices of the U.S. The military regime may be think-

ing it needless to listen to the real voices of the nation. The government may be desparate in getting economic aids from Japan. Still that does not entitle it to ignore all the exploitation, atrocities, and humiliations the Korean nation had suffered under the 36 years of Japanese rule. The bitter experiences and enmity cannot easily be forgotten.

One reason why Syngman Rhee was able to rule the land for 12 long years was because his career as a freedom-fighter against the Japanese and the firm attitude he had shown in his negotiations with the Japanese enlisted support of the public. The distrust and enmity of Koreans towards Japan is justly founded and not to be easily burried.

In vast contrast, the leaders of the military government represented by Park Chung Hi served as hounds of the Japanese militarists. (Park was a lieutenant in the Japanese Imperial army) So in complete defiance of the national sentiment, the militarists are engaging themselves in a dangerous game of diplomacy which might result in their selling away the nation. Koreans, of course, know well that it is the U.S. who is doing behind-the-scenes maneuvers to bring the two nations to terms.

Deceiving the Nation. Taking precautions not to anger the nation, the militarists have been emphasizing that they postess no intentions of conceding to the Japanese in regards to the claims issue and also "economic cooperation". They reiterated that the resumption of the ROK-Japan talks were the results of "spontaneous" agreements reached between the two countries and not due to U.S. mediation. The military regime has also underlined that the claims will be demanded as war reparations; economic cooperation will be negotiated apart from the claims issue after normalization of diplomatic relations and that U.S. will not be asked to serve as mediator.

In concrete terms, Premier Song declar-Japanese are scheming to shift the Korean claims payment to economic assistance but ROK will not agree to such a deal." Chief ROK delegate to the talks, Pai Ui-Hwan stated before leaving Seoul: "We are not going to Tokyo to beg but will negotiate with the Japanese firmly on the claims issue." Then Premier Song said on Oct. 22: "ROK-Japan economic cooperation is an entirely different problem from the claims issue." The militarists, in this way, have persisted in their stand to seek a "political settlement" of the claims issue first, minding the national sentiment. Still, Park dared to ignore such commitments and the national sentiment as well. He made a complete turnabout and virtually abandonned all the rightful demands of the nation.

U.S. Mediation. In Japan, neither statesmen nor the presses did deny that the U.S. was working as the go-between. The Japanese do not mind. But, in the case of Koreans, they dislike the formula of having the U.S. intervene in the negotiations. So, the military government worked to create an impression as if the talks were brought about by spontaneous agreement on both sides.

On Aug. 30, Kim Yu-Taik, Chief of the Economic Planning Board visited Japan for the purpose of sounding out Japan's attitude towards resumption of the talks. Three days later, U.S. Ambassador to Seoul, Samuel D. Berger, left for Tokyo. It is quite clear that Berger offered his good offices in helping Kim to approach the Japanese leaders. On his return to Seoul, Kim, however, denied his tour to Japan had anything to do with ROK-Japan talks. Berger, on the contrary, remarked that reconstruction of the South Korean economy was the common aim of both the U.S. and Japan. This statement caused embarrassment to the military regime, whereby Berger hurriedly got his spokesman to issue a statement to the effect that what he really meant to say was that it was the common aim of ROK and U.S. and not Japan and U.S. On his visit to Seoul, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk also made efforts to deny U.S. intervention, and stated that the normalization of diplomatic rela-

tions between ROK and Japan is a problem to be settled by both countries and that the U.S. was not working as mediator. Then Premier Song in a press conference said: "We have requested the U.S. not to intervene in the talks and the matter was not discussed at the U.S.-Japan ministerial talks." It is reasonable that the U.S. should defend its position but the ROK military government surely has no obligation to cover up for the Americans.

Regardless of what Rusk and Song had to say, it is all clear that the U.S. is exercising its influences behind the scenes. It is also clear that the U.S. is scheming to bolster its defense lines along the Northeast Asian front by bringing the two estranged neighbors to terms. In his press interview with an American Broadcasting Co. reporter on Nov. 5, Park said: "I plan to recommend to President Kennedy the necessity of strengthening defense of Northeast Asia which comprises ROK, Japan, Okinawa and Formosa." (Refer: Hankook Ilbo, Nov. 6)

So, in defiance of the bitter experiences which the Korean nation had undergone during the 36 years of Japanese rule, the justful claims and interests of Korea are being traded so humiliatingly and so cheaply for the sake of prolonging the existence of the military dictatorship and also for the sake of serving foreign interests. We cannot call this diplomacy. It is an act betraying the nation.

Snob of Snobs

The greatness of Andersen's tales sometimes seem to appear in their biting jest of the adult world. There is this story of the snobbish king who goes on lavishing away the kingdom's money on his wardrobe. He has to don exterior dignity in order to cover up for his emptiness and the court tailor is made to work day and night to design new dresses. The exasperated tailor finally designs this invisible cloak and the happy king goes a strolling naked down the street to the great enjoyment and ridicule of the town children.

Now how would it be to have such a snobbish king rule us today? Park Chung Hi, the No. 1 man of South Korea was but a major general when he and his co-conspirators grabbed the ROK government last May 16. Three months later (Aug. 12), he promoted himself to the rank of lieutenant general. But the three stars were still not convincing. So, on Nov. 1, that is, in two months' time, he added another star on his shoulders and made himself a full general of the army. He hoped that the four stars would make himself a match to meet President Kennedy. This is the childish game of toy soldiers in which the strongman has been endulging in. But, even if Park decked himself with all the stars of heaven, still dignity would never show from his seedy appearance.

Park Chung Hi has thus shown himself the snob of all snobs. It would be a very interesting point to explore exactly what President Kennedy and other leaders abroad thought about this boorish dictator from far-flung South Korea. But, it is a sad reality that Koreans must put up with a dictatorship under such a fool.

If Park's ambitions were directed towards a truly high-minded ideal in place of personal successes, he could have at least given some encouragement to the weary-worn South Koreans. But like Andersen's naked king, the sole interest of Park Chung Hi is to don extra stars and marks of merits on himself. The fearful consequences that are ensuing for having such a snobbish and cocky ruler, however, does not entitle us to laugh as Andersen's children did.

NEWS OF THE MONTH Oct. 21 to Nov. 2.

Chang Do Yung put on Revolutionary Trial

Lt. Gen. Chang Do Yung, former Chairman of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction was put on trial on Oct. 27 for "obstructing the May 16 military takeover." 25 other military officers, including 4 former junta leaders, also were indicted on similar charges.

The military defendants are involved in 4 separate cases, but the Prosecution charges against them concern "counter-revolutionary activities". The defendants were charged with having plotted to get rid of the "core leaders" of the military junta and to occupy the Central Intelligence Agency.

Chang was arrested in Court on Nov. 2 and since the following day, he has been appearing in court handcuffed and in a blue prison uniform.

ROK Industrialists Fail in Getting Foreign Investments

A group of ROK private industrialists led by Lee Byung-Chul, head of the Korean Businessmen's Association, failed in its bid to get $2 billion in capital from the U.S. and other countries to help expand Korean industry.

The group arrived in Washington on Nov. 14 and conferred with officials of the U.S. Development Loan Fund, the World Bank and the International Monetary but was turned down its requests on the ground that a stable government was needed as an inducement for private foreign investment.

The group hoped to secure $1.3 billion of the total amount from foreign sources including $266 million from private industries in the U.S., Europe and Japan.

UNCURK Report Made Public

The annual report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) to the 16th U.N. General Assembly session was made public on Nov. 15.

The lengthy report covers most aspects of South Korea's political changes and economic situation with emphasis placed on the May 16 military takeover and its aftermath. It also covers various situations under the Democratic regime and the military government during the period from Sept. 18, 1960 to Sept. 11, 1961.

It said that Korea's major problems "remained essentially the same" during the past year and noted that continued division of the country, continued unemployment and relatively low standard of living as well as the necessity for reform in the social, economic and financial fields are the pending problems.

12 Private Colleges Closed

On Nov. 18, the Education Ministry ordered the closure of one-third of the nation's 37 private universities in the latest sweeping reform moves in the education field. Under the new regulation for state and private universities, 12 private colleges are to close after the new semester beginning in March.

These colleges which failed to qualify for the regulations will be merged into several larger universities. Students at these schools, however, will be allowed to remain until graduation.

The Ministry also said that the maximum enrollment at private universities were reduced to 35,000 from the current 55,000.